WAR & PEACE

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'New' military look bared in capital: Open threat of aggressive atom war

By Tabitha Petran

WASHINGTON'S military "new look" has evolved—with the help of a kleig-lit advertising campaign suitable to introducing a new General Motors model—into a so-called "new" foreign-military policy of "vast changes" (**U.S. News,** 1/22) and "radical departures" (**Wall St. Journal,** 1/11). James Reston called it "potentially graver than anything ever proposed by any U.S. government" (**NYT,** 1/17). Secy. Dulles summed it up when he told the Council on Foreign Relations (1/13) that the President and Natl. Security Council had taken

> ". . . the basic decision . . . to depend primarily upon a capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our choosing."

In short, the "new" policy is a threat to launch atomic war of annihilation whenever Washington chooses and on any pretext. The pretense that such a war would be started only in retaliation against "aggression" has worn so thin that neither Dulles nor the President, in a subsequent press conference, even paid it lip service.

Drawing by Jean Effel, Paris

"The hieroglyphics say 'Go Home!'"

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD: There is nothing new about this "new" policy except the arrogant openness of its assertion and its emphasis—both calculated to condition the American people to waging aggressive atomic war. Walter Millis (**NYHT,** 1/17) showed that its ideas and phrasing derive directly from the late Sen. Taft's **A Foreign Policy for Americans** (1951) and have long been echoed by Dulles. The Paris **Tribune des Nations'** Colonel X pointed out (12/11) that the "new" policy has always been the core of NATO, whose efforts have been directed to building the European-Mediterranean chain of bases to implement air-atomic rim strategy, and whose land-force goals were never intended by U.S. military chiefs to be realized. The strategy—which reduces U.S. allies to strictly "strategic military units in a world conflict" (**NYT,** 1/17)—is being revealed now, Colonel X said, only because it can no longer be concealed.

The "new policy" (openly threatening aggressive atomic war) is the logical development of the Truman-Acheson "cold war" (preparations for aggressive war). It represents a stage in these war preparations as well as in the bankruptcy of Washington's policies, being at once a blustering cover for the retreats forced by the setbacks Washington has suffered and, as Alvarez del Vayo noted (**Nation,** 1/16), "a step down the road of no return toward atomic war" if those policies are not reversed.

SHIFTING SANDS: It is this dual

(Continued on Page 5)

"McCarthy . . . you're a menace!"

From a spectator's seat at McCarthy's one-man committee hearing in Boston Jan. 16, Nathaniel Mills, suspended Lynn GE employe, rose and denounced the Senator. He shouted that McCarthy was conspiring with GE to "take away the jobs of people fighting for better pay." Seven U.S. marshalls "mobbed" Mills, UP reported, and rushed him out of the Federal courthouse. According to Julius Emspak, secy.-treas. of the Ind. United Electrical Workers, witch-hunt committees have for years been timing their hearings to precede important elections in which the union participated. Last week in Washington the Supreme Court heard arguments in the contempt of Congress case against Emspak. This was the first time the court has heard argument on the constitutionality of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Also raised was Emspak's right to invoke the First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer qutstions.

TO PRIVATE POWER HALF A SEAWAY IS BETTER THAN A WHOLE

Why Ike's pushing the St. Lawrence Seaway now

By Lawrence Emery

FOR MORE than 30 years Congress has blocked development of the great St. Lawrence Seaway that would open a lane for deep-sea shipping into the heartland of the North American continent as far west as Duluth, with economic benefits and savings to a U.S.-Canadian region populated by 40 million people. As part of the project there would be a hydro-electric plant capable of developing 2,200,000 horsepower, or 12,600,000,000 kilowatt hours a year, to be shared equally by the U.S. and Canada.

Against these public blessings there have stood throughout the years a powerful combination of private power interests, railroads, the coal mining industry and the big Atlantic and Gulf port cities. Consistently, Congressmen representing these forces were able to defeat the project—although only by three votes in the Senate in the last test in June, 1952. Last week the debate was on again in the Senate, with prospects for victory this time. But there is a difference now.

DEWEY'S HAND: Since December, 1951, Canada has been prepared to build the Seaway alone, without benefit of U.S. help or participation. There was one hitch: the Seaway itself cannot be built without simultaneous construction of the hydro-electric project. This must be a joint U.S.-Canada effort because the site is on the boundary of the two countries. Strongest U.S. proponents of the project have always insisted that the power plant be federally controlled in the public interest.

Gov. Dewey of New York has fought for marketing and distribution of the power by private utilities. Dewey has now won; the Federal Power Commission recently granted a license for construction of the project to the N.Y. State Power Authority, which has announced it will wholesale the power to private interests. On Nov. 5 President Eisenhower officially designated the SPA as U.S. agent in the project.

In addition, the President has tied the Seaway to his Administration's concept of defense and security. Last April he announced that his Natl. Security Council, top policy-making body, favored early completion of the Seaway as contributing to national defense; on May 8 his cabinet unanimously approved. In his State of the Union message he again called the Seaway essential to national defense.

WHERE BENEFITS GO: But the Eisenhower Seaway is something less than the original grand concept of opening up all the Great Lakes region for vast development. The bill now in the Senate, sponsored by Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wis.), will limit U.S. participation in the Seaway to a 42-mile stretch around the International Rapids, where the power plant is to be built for the benefit of private utilities. Instead of extending deep-sea traffic all the way to Duluth, the present plan would open a channel only into Lake Ontario or, at best, into Lake Erie as far as Toledo.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

The dotted line above shows the original scope of the proposed St. Lawrence Seaway: a channel for ocean-going vessels from the Atlantic all the way to Duluth. Under present plans approved by Ike and his Cabinet the route will go only far enough to serve the needs of U.S. Big Steel bringing in iron ore from Labrador. Hydroelectric power constructed along with the Seaway will be siphoned off to private utilities.

President James Patton of the Natl. Farmers Union has called this the "half-way seaway," points out it will

> ". . . leave ports on Lakes Superior, Michigan and Huron semi-land-locked. Farmers and manufacturers who ship products out of these ports would thus get little in the way of real benefits from the project."

GEORGE'LL DO IT: But major U.S. steel companies will benefit greatly. Iron ore deposits in the Mesabi Range are running out, while vast deposits in Labrador have scarcely been tapped. G. V. Ferguson, editor of the Montreal **Star,** offered a key to the Eisenhower Administration's approval of present limited plans when he wrote recently:

> ". . . Secy. of the Treasury George M. Humphrey in private life represented the major steel interests now developing the Labrador iron ore resources. Those interests are strongly in favor of the Seaway's construction as

(Continued on Page 5)

You too can be a Guardian Angel

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INC.
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The Little Dogie Blues

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
The Texas Oligarchy
Thru its Hi Yi Hierarchy,
Has selected The Great McCarthy
As leader of its parthy.

Silvererat

Hats off to New Haven

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

We had a party, and here's how it went: A little speech was made welcoming everybody, telling them of the purpose of the party. The first item in our auction was the Birthday Cake, baked by a GUARDIAN friend. It was brought out with the five candles brightly burning, and a rousing "Happy Birthday" was sung to our GUARDIAN. We had asked everyone to bring an item for the auction. We had everything from China paper-cut art prints, to an antique child's rocker, and a slightly used washing machine, and television set.

But it wasn't what people were buying that mattered; it was the feeling with which it was done. The actual values were forgotten and the prices soared as each item taken home would be a small testimonial to the GUARDIAN's continued life.

The final accounting goes something like this: $281.70 clear and four pledges to the sustaining fund . . . and we had a grand time doing it. We hope that other communities will do the same.

Here's to the party we'll plan next year!

New Haven Guardian Birthday Party Committee

Peace Pilgrim

EVERETT, WASH.

I read your article about Peace Pilgrim with an upsurge of heartening encouragement. This woman is a magnificent person doing a stupendous job and I wish your story containing her wise and truthful message could be put in the hands of all

Mrs. Thelma Moen

"Trial of McCarthy"

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The GUARDIAN (1/18) says: "The morning papers and the evening Post in N.Y. carried not a line on the meeting." That is not accurate. I remember distinctly reading an account of about three paragraphs in the N.Y. Times, and about two paragraphs in the Post.

I would not call either an adequate coverage, but it was certainly much more than a line.

Frank Serri

Thanks to Mr. Serri, who was prosecutor at the "trial," for this information. The editions of the Post and Times which are received in the GUARDIAN office did not carry the reports. Ed.

Claude Williams' place

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

The name of the Rev. Claude Williams, whom certain Detroit church bigwigs are seeking to unfrock, will be remembered by thousands of our nation's most oppressed and poverty-stricken people long after those who would silence him are forgotten. After years of persecution and dangerous living we believe that he, like the Nazarene Carpenter, won't worry too much about the opinions of little men in high places. If he had worried about these things instead of about the welfare of the people he loves, he would today be a well-fed parish pastor, living in a nice, modern parsonage.

Claude Williams and Joyce, his wife and co-worker, are not rich in this world's goods but their lives are much richer than those of the little men who fear and persecute them. They richly deserve the utmost in moral and financial support of all who believe in true religion—a religion which advocates a more abundant life, even here on Earth. I am sure they would appreciate words of encouragement from GUARDIAN readers. Address: Route 1, Box 268, Helena, Ala.

Let's write and tell this courageous couple that we are for them, frock or no frock! Harry Koger

How crazy can you get dept.

The forthcoming meeting of Big Four Foreign Ministers in Berlin simultaneously with atomic talks with the Russians in Washington are other tremendous developments in the offing. It is still far too early to tell what the Soviets plan or want. . . Perhaps Moscow wants to embarrass Secy. of State Dulles, who can't be in Washington and Berlin simultaneously. Each conference may be used as gigantic propaganda platforms for the Reds to accelerate their "brain-washing" treatment of the entire world.

—Los Angeles Mirror, Jan. 9.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Miriam Savage, N. Hollywood, Calif.

Helen Sobell's story

BROMMA, SWEDEN

The attached page from the Stockholm daily Ny Dag, Jan. 8, is a complete translation of the GUARDIAN article by Helen Sobell with an introducing summary and appeal for solidarity.

I want to thank the GUARDIAN and Mrs. Sobell for this extremely moving story. Once Dreyfus was freed from a similar Devil's Island by a world campaign .This time it's up to us to free Morton Sobell. The article by Mrs. Sobell will contribute to that victory.

John Takman, MD
Editor, Clarte

That Paris rally

PARIS, FRANCE

Someone slipped up on your staff, as the picture of the French students in your issue of Jan. 4 is not "outside the Natl. Assembly in Paris," but in Rue Soufflot. The building in the background is the Pantheon with its dome. The Palais Bourbon, where the Natl. Assembly meets, has no dome.

The significance of Rue Soufflot is that the headquarters of the Natl. Students Union is there, and the demonstration gathered there to hear speeches. It then began to move down Blvd. St. Michel, then St. Germain towards the Assembly, but the police attacked it. You will be happy to know that the Assembly had a hot debate on police attacking students, and the ministry was censured for it.

But the Government, which has been defeated several times over on various issues, continues to exist as a ghost government because everyone is willing to wait for something to happen at the Berlin Big 4 meeting. It is highly probable that France will not only refuse CED (EDC to you) but will begin to withdraw from NATO (OTAN here) during '54, if greater changes do not take place. The present Government and, what is more important, the forces behind it in the Assembly do not dare to continue to ram the Wall St. program down the throats of the French nation; if they do, it will mean the end of the Assembly in its present form.

Joe Blaunbauer

The error was in the wire service caption; old Paris hands on the GUARDIAN staff should have caught it. Ed.

How to do it

BOISE, IDAHO

I took a GUARDIAN to a neighbor; he read it and grabbed his pen and subscribed and is getting it right along. Thinks it's great.

Reader

Really blossoming

E. PALATKA, FLA.

Up at 5 a.m. to get this and a dozen other belated letters off. Have been overwhelmed with work on Monthly Review, World Events Clearinghouse, a stream of visitors (we are at the gateway to Florida), 14 adorable goats, 12½ interesting acres, a million projects for improving same and an indescribably lovely pal of a wife. Here's a check for $50 to cover our joint pledge and some Buying Service items.

Fred A. Blossom

THE BLOSSOMS

The Agronsky story

KNOXVILLE TENN.

Martin Agronsky, ABC commentator, was cut off the air by our local (Knoxville) station all last week. He's one of the few liberals left on the air and exerts a beneficent influence on this Republican community. A real howl of protest went up when he was taken off. The liberals were prepared to do battle pronto and such telephoning and letter and card writing you never saw! Result: We now have Agronsky back on the air.

I tell you, people are waking up and showing a new spirit of resistance on many scores.

Helen Parsons

5th Anniversary record

EDINA, MO.

We received our GUARDIAN Anniversary record in good order and were thrilled from beginning to end. Mrs. Bessie Mitchell's calm but stirring manner, Marzani's challenging courage and Belfrage's matchless satire (we chuckled and chuckled some more!) were the outstanding gems of a galaxy of thrilling speakers. The record will be played many times and cherished meanwhile.

Lester, Jean and John Carson

We have just 100 remaining of these 12-in. LP records, made at the GUARDIAN's Fifth Anniversary dinner, with songs by Pete Seeger and a fine chorus, excerpts of addresses by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Ring Lardner Jr., Miss Thelma Dale, Emanuel H. Bloch, Hon. Vito Marcantonio and the above-mentioned; plus introductions of the GUARDIAN staff and a message from us to you. We think you and your friends will enjoy it as much as the Carsons do and that it may help you introduce the GUARDIAN to your friends in a most enjoyable, constructive way. Just drop us a line, and while they last, you can have one of the remaining records free. Ed.

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REPORT TO READERS

A flight of Angels

POMPEY'S PILLAR, Mont., and Oconomowoc, Wis., have joined the flight of Angels responding to that coupon over there at the top left side of this page. So have two retired generals, one bank president, a benchful of assorted judges, a butcher from Oshkosh, Neb., a baker from Sunnyside, a candlestick-maker from Murray Hill, and a southpaw chess player from Denver.

While the list by no means covers the 4,000 or so cities, villages and rural routes inhabited by the GUARDIAN's valiant families in these United States, it is a pretty gratifying cross-section—and anyone joining it will find him or herself in excellent company.

Such as the fellow from Hinton, W. Va., who sent a small sum extra during last fortnight's cold snap hereabouts to "buy ye Editor a Cup of Coffee some cold morning." Or the sister from Round Top, N.Y., who writes:

"I never cease regretting that I cannot send this great paper the money equivalent of my joy and pride in it. (If I ever can, you will know it!)"

Lawrence, Kan., writes:

"The N.G. has become indispensible to our little group here. Not an issue is overlooked—we look forward to it every week."

And from Greenwich Village, N.Y., addressed to "Dear Watchful Guardian," a conscientious soul writes:

"Frankly I consider it quite a privilege to have even a small finger in helping the GUARDIAN do its truly magnificent job. . . .

"P.S.: After all that it seems completely ridiculous to note that my subscription expired last summer. A renewal fee is enclosed, too. . . .

"A Brave New Year to all of you!"

NOBODY has sent flowers yet, along with a renewal, but a chap from L.A. enclosed $1 for candy or smokes for the staff and a distaff Californian sent a brimming box of cookies, home-made marshmallows and wrapped caramels.

And, care of us for the children of the Smith Act victims, another reader in the West sent a huge parcel of knit goods—booties, sweaters, mittens and many other things—all knitted for this cause by her 84-year-old mother who died before the gift could be sent.

As we say, this is excellent company to be in—indeed, the very best! Our stock of 1954 Angel wings for late joiners of the Buck-of-the-Month Club is still not exhausted; we have a pair just your size.

—THE EDITORS

Goshal on oil

ALTADENA, CALIF.

In my opinion the exposure of imperialism is the most important job a writer can do today. However, in Kumar Goshal's article (Dec. 7) there was a typographical error or a serious mistake of fact regarding the respective costs of American and Saudi Arabian oil. Also, it was Standard of California and Texaco (not Standard of N. J. and Socony-Vacuum) that originally formed Aramco. I think you are doing a wonderful job. Keep it up.

Oil Man

Kumar Goshal replies: "Oil Man is quite correct. In the last line, first column, of my article, the word "barrel" should have been "ton." Also, Standard of N. J. and Socony-Vacuum (not Standard of Calif. and Texaco) are partners in the Iraq Petroleum Co." Ed.

One cheated student

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am a high school student. Our Board of Education has been authorized to fire teachers under the new Dilworth Act.

This affects me especially because one of my teachers was fired. She was not charged with anything but the Board disapproved of what they thought she was thinking. She had sworn that she did not believe in violent overthrow of the government and that she had not belonged to any organization advocating force and violence. She was one of the school's most popular teachers. She was always ready to counsel students.

At my school the students choose their own instructors for the subjects they wish to take. The last time terms changed, over 100 students attempted to get into one of her classes.

Our principal one day said: "I know that woman is a Communist; all the students like her." It is this kind of logic that has seen many fine teachers fired and I, as one supposedly being protected, feel cheated. I feel cheated because my privilege to receive knowledge from these intelligent teachers is being taken away by men and women who have neither this knowledge nor the ability to share it.

Mike Cole

Lincoln reversed

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The front page headline of the N.Y. Daily News (Jan. 8) read: IKE PLEDGES AN A-MIGHTY U.S.

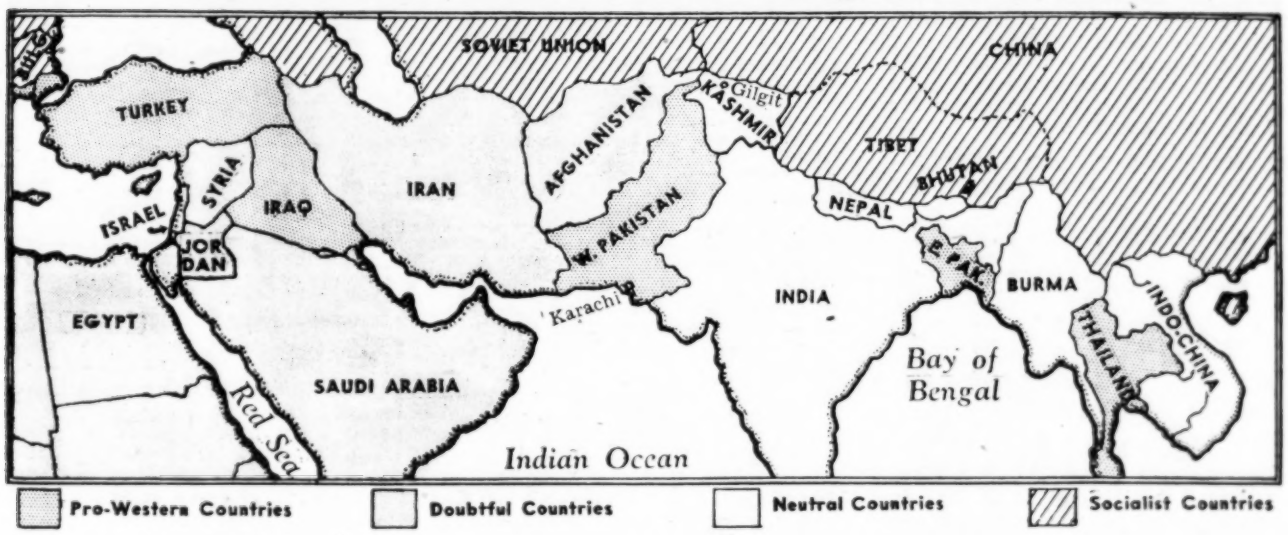
Thus the News accurately interpreted Ike's intentions; send into oblivion one of the most cherished moral principles of Abe Lincoln:

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we undestand it."

A. Garcia Diaz

THEY ASK FOR BREAD—THE U. S. OFFERS A SERPENT

There's a storm brewing in Asia



By Kumar Goshal

THUNDER is in the air over the subcontinent of India, in which live more than one-sixth of humanity, as Washington negotiates with Pakistan for a military pact—"disturbing [Britain with] the unpleasant thought that the U.S. is replacing [her] in another Commonwealth country" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 12/28/53).

When Britain ceased to be India's formal ruler in 1947, a prolonged conflict was predicted between the Republic of India and the Dominion of Pakistan into which it was partitioned—enabling Britain to dominate them by playing one against the other. Ensuing events fulfilled the predictions. The economy, transportation and communications systems went awry, communal tension led to sickening bloodbaths. Conflict developed over rights to canal waters with sources in one country but flowing through both. There were problems involving the Indian princes' right to join one or the other country; eventually, over the biggest and most strategically-located of the princes' states—Kashmir—India and Pakistan went to war. Since 1949, an armed truce has prevailed in Kashmir, with the U.S. now the mediator.

"IT'S GOOD FOR YOU": Alternately favoring India and Pakistan, Washington has jockeyed itself into an influential position in the subcontinent. Its present policy of military aid to Pakistan and promotion of a Turkey-Iraq-Pakistan "defense" alliance indicates an attempt to kill several birds with one stone, applying in Asia the global policy that what is good for American corporations is good for the world.

The policy has gone through several transformations. After China's liberation, Washington hoped India's Premier Nehru would substitute for Chiang as chief U.S. spokesman in Asia—and "tried hard to woo New Delhi" (**ONA**, 5/1/53). Ambassador Chester Bowles worked patiently to secure major Indian concessions for U.S. corporations; he failed to bring India completely to the U.S. side, in face of the Indian peoples' almost universal sympathy for China and the Soviet Union.

In the autumn of '52, Eisenhower felt that Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, Indonesia and India "should be encouraged" to form a NATO-type organization (**Newsweek**, 8/25/52). By Eisenhower's inauguration in 1953, the impossibility of lining up India in the anti-Soviet and anti-China camp had become obvious.

PAKISTAN SWING: Last April, when speculations over U.S. bases in Pakistan appeared in the press, delicate negotiations were proceeding between India and Pakistan over major issues in dispute. Homer Bigart reported (**NYHT**, 4/17/53) that one reason for speculation over Pakistan offering bases to U.S. in return for military aid was "to frighten India [into] a mood for compromise."

The day after Bigart's report, Pakistan Gov.-Gen. Ghulam Mohammed abruptly dismissed the cabinet, replaced Premier Nazimuddin with former Ambassador to the U.S. Mohammed Ali. The news, coming "at a moment when prospects were bright for a better [India-Pakistan] relationship . . . stunned . . . official circles" in New Delhi (**N.Y. Times**, 4/18/53). At Ali's first press conference, "the Pakistan press, suspicious of the slightest hint of foreign influence," sharply questioned him "on the government's reported 'swing to America'"; one correspondent asked if "last week's 'coup' was engineered to bring into power a government more receptive to the Westtern bloc" (**NYHT**, 4/24/53).

The following month, "secret U.S.-Pakistan talks" involving bases-for-arms were reported going on, the success of which "could provide [Pakistan] an offensive punch for a show-down fight with . . . India in the dispute over Kashmir" (**ONA**, 5/1/53). Since then, Pakistan's Gov.-Gen. and Army C-in-C have visited Washington, while Secy. Dulles and Vice-President Nixon have visited Asia and reported adversely on Nehru and in favor of a U.S.-Pakistan military alliance. Nixon suggested a military crescent: Turkey, Iran, Pakistan Indo-China, Formosa and Japan—to "close the ring" around the U.S.S.R. and China (**Newsweek**, 1/4).

PACTS AMERICANA: Today the U.S. is pushing a Turkey-Iraq-Iran-Saudi Arabia-Pakistan pact (**NYT**, 1/17). This applies "only to West Pakistan—not the eastern half of the country" separated by over 1,000 miles of Indian territory; East Pakistan "figures in the strategy of Southeast Asia"

(**Newsweek**, 11/30/53). Senate majority leader Knowland (R-Calif.) foresaw a military pact involving East Pakistan with the Philippines, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, S. Korea and Formosa, under the leadership of newly-installed Philippines President Ramon Magsaysay "who has not been involved in controversies [surrounding] Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek" (**NYHT**, 11/17/53).

Ned Russell (**NYHT**, 1/10) saw the Eisenhower Administration's policy as based on these theories: it still believes in the "roll back Communism" policy, but does not expect "military aggression" now, especially in the Far East, where "the main danger . . . lies in the possibility of Communist upheavals" in neutral or U.S.-sympathizer countries.

THE BIG DREAM: By these two pacts tying in West and East Pakistan, the U.S. hopes to:

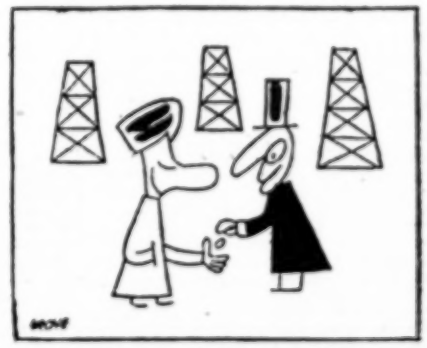
- Put pressure on India, by surrounding her with pro-U.S. forces, to "stand up and be counted" on the U.S. side; or at least to allow Kashmir to be so divided as to give Pakistan all of western Kashmir, with strategic Gilgit province where a British-built air base is a stone's throw from Chinese Sinkiang and Soviet industries east of the Urals; gain control of Pakistan's two air bases at Karachi, one of which is the largest in Asia;
- Coerce Israel, protect U.S.-British investments in the Middle and Far East, expand U.S. investments further (Turkey was reported last month to be enacting "drastic changes in its laws" to permit foreign investments even in currently state-owned enterprises; within a week after his becoming Pakistan's Premier, Mohammed Ali promised "proper consideration" for foreign companies);
- Prevent "communist" i.e., any kind of progressive) regimes from gaining power anywhere from Turkey to Japan and endangering U.S. investments;
- Utilize Thailand as a supply base for reactionary regimes in Southeast Asia (Thailand's corrupt government, to which former OSS chief "Wild Bill" Donovan has now become U.S. Ambassador, has been militarily helped by the U.S. since 1950, and has been supplying the forces of "Honorable Ping"—pseudonym of Chiang's General Li Mi—in Burma);
- Build up a huge army of Asians to fight America's battles in their own countries or abroad—especially in maintaining unpopular regimes in power and crushing revolts if they arise—much as W. European imperialist powers used their colonial armies in the past. This army, however, would be second class expendables, with troops from Australia and New Zealand—members of the lily-white ANZUS pact—as first class expendables, and the U.S. forces forming an elite group holding nuclear weapons, "a mobile reserve within the U.S., available for service at seriously threatened points elsewhere in the world" (**NYHT**, 1/10).

BALKY PEOPLE: This Superman-Dick Tracy-"white man's burden" concept of global control by the U.S. is obviously doomed to failure in an age when all Asia is resounding to songs of independence.

India's opposition has been paralleled by Afghanistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and the liberal press in Japan. In West Pakistan, discontent is widespread among the 33 million inhabitants suffering from an inefficient government, black-marketeering (wheat is selling at 15c a pound—twice the official rate), lack of health and education facilities, while the government spends nearly 80% of its budget for military purposes (**NYT**, 4/10/53, 12/13/53). In East Pakistan, where nearly half of the 42 million inhabitants will vote next month for a new legislature, a powerful opposition threatens to unseat the ruling Moslem League party, with the popular platform of nationalizing all industries and utilities; people "find very little in common with West Pakistan," and the possibility is growing of a demand to rejoin their immediate neighbors in India with whom they share the same language and culture (**NYT**, 1/5, 1/10). The shaky Pakistan government has put political critics in jail after secret trial and even punished such normally pro-government newspapers as **Dawn** and the **Evening Star** for mild criticism.

MID-EAST HEADACHES: The projected Middle East pact members will have their hands full to control events shaping up in such places as Iran and Saudi Arabia. Iran is under strict martial law, the last opposition newspaper **Shahed** has been suppressed, and many political parties have threatened to boycott the coming elections as necessarily farcical under the control of U.S.-supported dictator Gen. Zahedi.

In Saudi Arabia, across the road from the "Arabian Nights fairy tale . . . palace of [the late] King Ibn Saud . . . is a settlement known as 'Paper Town'" because people there live in tents made of old paper and cardboard, a family of five or six crowded into a single tent. "Everywhere in Saudi Arabia, an American visitor is struck by this contrast between fabulous wealth and unbelievable poverty" (**U.S. News**, 1/15). During the Aramco oil workers' strike last August, when the



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Anglo-Iranian negotiations are resumed.

government clapped the strike leaders in jail, "13,000 of Aramco's 15,000 native workers walked out in a surprisingly well-organized general strike. . . . Crown Prince [now King] Saud said he would ship them back to their villages, where they used to enjoy . . . 7½c a day wages" (**Time**, 11/2/53). Saud, to divert the attention of his miserable subjects, has suggested sacrificing 10 million of the 50 million Arabs in a crusade to destroy Israel (**NYT**, 1/10).

An "alarmed Israel" has protested U.S. arming of Iraq and Saudi Arabia, with whom she is still technically at war. The U.S. plan also faces opposition from the Egypt-dominated Arab League as long as the Anglo-Egyptian Suez Canal dispute remains unsettled (**NYT**, 1/16). Britain, worried over losing influence throughout the Middle East, has hastily offered to support "U.S. material and financial strength with British military and political experience in both Iraq and Pakistan" (**NYT**, 1/17).

NO HELP UM: In the Burma campaign during the last war, out of the mouth of a little Naga boy came the truth about the Asians today. A friend of U.S. correspondent Eric Sevareid, going up the hills to meet him, asked the boy in pidgin English: "You coolie, carry pack. Carry pack. Five mile. Give much rupee—much rupee." Jingling coins in his pocket, he asked: "You help um white man, no?"

"No," answered the Naga boy; "I am on my way to school and I'm just as fatigued as you are."

EISENHOWER OFFERS REAL SOCIAL SECURITY GAINS, BUT . . .

Storm is raised on farm, labor, health

TWO blazing fires were raging under the Eisenhower Administration last week, set off by the President's proposals to toughen up the Taft-Hartley Act and to reduce farm income by "flexible" price supports. As though to remove some of the heat, the President offered some genuine improvements in the Social Security program—but then set off another fire with a health program denounced by Sen. Herbert Lehman (D-N.Y.) as "wholly inadequate."

The major Eisenhower offer to the ailing—on behalf of whom he repudiated "the socialization of medicine"—was a small government fund to "reinsure" private health and hospitalization plans. First reaction to the program came from Americans for Democratic Action, which was "deeply disappointed and critical" of its "utter failure to propose constructive measures to meet the health needs of the people."

BROADER COVERAGE: For Social Security improvements, the President proposed extending coverage to another 10,000,000 persons, easing retirement requirements, increasing benefits and broadening the tax base. His proposals were in direct contradiction to those offered recently by Rep. Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.) after a $100,000 subcommittee study (GUARDIAN, Jan. 11). But the Curtis program, which would loot the $18,000,000,000 social security fund and destroy the Social Security system, has U. S. Chamber of Commerce backing and may still muster strong support in a reactionary Congress.

The Eisenhower proposals would extend coverage to self-employed farmers, more farm workers and domestic employes, self-employed professionals and some other groups, bringing the total included in the system to more than 80,000,000 (some 6,000,000 persons are now collecting benefits).

INCREASES PROPOSED: At present, beneficiaries who earn more than $75 a month forfeit their benefit for that month; under the Eisenhower proposal they could earn a total of $1,000 a year without loss of benefits. Benefits paid would be liberalized by calculating them on the insured's best earning period during coverage. Benefits to totally disabled persons would be improved.

Social Security payroll taxes are now deducted from the first $3,600 earned; this would be extended to $4,200. Present minimum Social Security benefit is $25 a month with an overall average of about $50. The President left it to his Secy. of Health, Education & Welfare to set the increases, but it was believed that the minimum for a single person would rise to $30, the single maximum from $85 to $108.50, the maximum for a family from $168.75 to $190.

AFL BLESSING: There is a better Social Security bill introduced by a group

Seafarer's Log, New York
"MISSION ACCOMPLISHED"

of Congressmen headed by Sen. Lehman, but the President's proposals will take priority. Hearings have been set for March before Chairman Daniel Reed (R-N.Y.) of the House Ways & Means Committee.

The proposals won the blessing of AFL pres. George Meany, who said they

> ". . . represent as forward-looking a program as the Administration has yet produced . . . repudiate the irresponsible efforts made by the Chamber of Commerce and others to undermine the structure of the social insurance system . . . [are] a long step forward in preserving, improving and extending the Social Security system."

Said House Speaker Martin (Mass.):

> "There isn't any question but that this Congress will enact legislation substantially carrying out the President's program."

T-H MADE WORSE: There was plenty of question about the Administration's farm and labor programs. After a long hard look at the President's proposed 14 amendments to Taft-Hartley, both AFL and CIO dismissed them in full as making the law worse than it is. CIO gen. counsel Arthur J. Goldberg said:

> "The message and the bill are a victory for the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers in the undercover struggle in the Administration which has been going on during the last year on its labor policy. This is another giveaway to the Republican Party's financial angels."

The AFL's Meany said the Smith Bill, embodying the President's proposals, "fails utterly" to remove the law's "major objectionable features" and is in no way "an integrated and effective overhauling of the Act of the kind necessary before the law can, in any sense, be considered fair to the nation's wage earners." Said Teamster pres. Dave Beck:

> "The aim and intent of the Taft-Hartley Law is to destroy labor. There is only one solution. That is to get rid of the law."

TIGERS ARE SMILING: What was new in the situation was the belated acceptance by top labor leaders of the fact that reaction rules the White House, and their abandonment of hope that the President could or would fulfill his campaign pledges to labor, feeble as they were. But an all-out fight to repeal T-H was a few years late. Big Business journals last week were smugly satisfied; their belief was that the fight against the Eisenhower labor package would at most end in a stalemate, leaving T-H unchanged for this year at least.

To them this is a pleasant prospect because the Natl. Labor Relations Board has gradually been re-interpreting all past decisions and policies to the detriment of labor, and the Board now has a solid Republican majority. The Senate Labor Committee has scheduled two weeks of public hearings beginning Jan. 25, and has voted to let the Senate Judiciary Committee consider Senate bills that would put all labor under Subversive Activities Contral Board jurisdiction. Labor found itself jockeyed into a position where the best it could do was to fight a holding action and hope it could change the composition of Congress in the fall elections.

FARMERS SCOFFING: Farmers were in a better position to defeat the Administration's income-cutting plans for a sliding-scale system of price supports; last week two key members of the Senate Agriculture Committee reported in separate interviews that it is divided

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"THE NEW STATESMANSHIP"

9 to 6 against the Eisenhower-Benson proposals. Even the ultra-conservative Natl. Council of Farm Co-operatives rejected the sliding scale, refused to adopt a resolution endorsing Benson (he was one of its top leaders for five years).

The Natl. Farmers Union ridiculed the Benson theory that farm production can be decreased or increased as wanted by raising or lowering the scale of price supports: that notion was "exploded dramatically more than 20 years ago." From 1919 to 1922 farm prices dropped by 40% but production went up 5%; from 1929 to 1932 farm prices went down 56%, production up by 4%. The union pointed out that when prices fall, "farmers try to maintain their income by producing more for sale at the lower price"—but ruin themselves in the process:

> "Sliding scale price reductions force the farmer to buy less city-made goods, to stop his soil improvement and conservation efforts and to treat his farm and family as if they were expendable."

COMMON SENSE: Eventually, the union conceded, production will fall, but not before the farmer has destroyed his ability to produce, with thousands driven from the land.

As for current talk of stupendous surpluses, the union denounced most of it as fictitious, pointed out that farm yield depends on weather and it is good common sense to have foodstuffs on hand as a safety reserve against a couple of bad years. It added that two simple expedients for influencing production are already available: production controls can be invoked on crops in high supply, price supports can be increased for crops in short supply to induce a shift in production.

Progressive Party Natl. Committee sets up program for '54 elections

IN New York Jan. 16-17, the Progressive Party Natl. Committee at a meeting attended by 85 representatives from 16 states set this minimum program for the support of candidates for Congress in 1954:

- Jobs and security for workers and farmers in a peacetime economy.
- Settlement of outstanding differences with the Soviet Union by conference and negotiation.
- Opposition to McCarthyism.
- A federal FEPC.

Primary objectives set were: defeat leading McCarthyites and warmongers;

Full summary of program in next week's GUARDIAN

increase representation of Negroes and other minority groups; secure commitments from major candidates based on the above minimum program and elect a bloc of Congressmen so committed; use the 1954 election campaigns to bring the full Progressive program to the public and urge the necessity for a broad third party movement based on labor, working farmers and the Negro people.

"IMPETUS & EXAMPLE": A Congressional Campaign Committee was set up to consult with state organizations on program, Congressional nominations or endorsements of other party candidates. On electoral policy generally, the Natl. Committee stated that "the presence of PP candidates on the ballot is essential to give impetus and example, both in our ranks and in broader circles, to the movement for a mass third party." Recognizing, as the report of natl. secy. C. B. Baldwin stated that "in [this] period of great crisis . . . the time and energy of individual progressives or their organizations become exceedingly precious," the Committee urged a policy of concentration on PP candidacies but added:

> ". . . Under no circumstances can the PP give unqualified support to a Congressional candidate [of other parties] who is not committed to the minimum program outlined above."

PROD THE DEMOCRATS: Attributing the Democratic Party's loss of the 1952 election to "lack of a peace policy and failure to use its most effective asset, the New Deal," the Committee noted that the Democrats have still thus far failed to counter the reactionary Eisenhower program with a positive program of their own, or "to make any effective defense against Brownell's McCarthyite smear of the Truman regime." It urged that labor, farm and Negro forces be organized to compel the Democrats to fight for progressive measures through "independent political activity in support of a program which meets the demands of the people for peace, security and freedom."

A full Progressive legislative and political action program was voted (see next week's GUARDIAN).

ACTION NOW: As immediate actions, the Committee urged city, state and regional job conferences involving labor, farmers and others on such questions as foreign trade, unemployment benefits, union security, job discrimination, etc.; anti-McCarthyism meetings to urge Congressional opposition and support for witch-hunt victims; a national legislative mobilization in Washington in April; local activity to bring voters into direct contact with their legislative representatives.

During the two-day meeting—attended at times by Paul Robeson, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and other notables—the PP representatives heard stimulating talks by Archie Wright, pres. of the Northeastern Farmers Union; Victor Perlo and James Wishart, economists, on labor, the economy and foreign trade; V. Frank Coe and attorney Victor Rabinowitz on McCarthyism.

At the conclusion, fraternal messages were sent to the family of Vincent Hallinan, 1952 PP candidate for President, who was jailed for "contempt" in 1952 for his spirited defense of labor leader Harry Bridges and has just begun an 18-month term on a "tax evasion" charge.

The PP Natl. Committee drew special attention to the section of its 1954 legislative program which urges Congress to adopt a joint resolution "reaffirming its exclusive constitutional power to declare war and denying to the executive the right to order an armed attack against any foreign nation without a prior declaration of war." The joint resolution was urged because of "the precedent of American entry into the Korean war without the consent of Congress" and because recent policy statements by President Eisenhower and Secy. Dulles have set an Administration policy "of surprise atomic attack to be launched in violation of the Constitution empowering the Congress alone to declare war."

The Committee called on progressives to contact their Congressmen, urging their support of such a joint resolution.

•

Vincent Hallinan and the Hallinan family would love to hear from you, too. His address: Federal Penitentiary, McNeill Island, Washington. Vivian Hallinan and their six young sons live in Rose, California.

NEW YORK EDITION

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Photo by ASP Photo Workshop

The house they live in . . .
. . . is sick with what experts call the tenements' "galloping consumption." **(See p. N. Y. 3)**

ALBANY REPORT

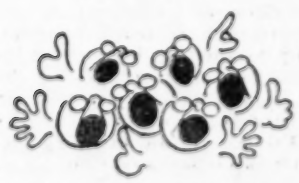
Legislators fling '54 campaign mud as booby-trap bills fill hopper

By Elmer Bendiner

THE 1954 political campaign took the legislative floor at Albany last week; legislation was filed in committee.

The Democrats had apparently decided that scandals made the biggest headlines, muckraking the safest politics. (It would involve no commitments on program.) Sen. Joseph Zaretzki (D-Man.) opened fire in a 40-minute barrage on the floor charging Nassau County GOP leader J. Russell Sprague with "muscling in" on the take at the Yonkers Raceway. (Sprague recently gave up his post on the GOP Natl. Committee to spare it embarrassment because of his raceway connections, but he held on to the raceway stock. He and Westchester County GOP leader Wm. F. Bleakley are the biggest stockholders in the scandal-ridden track.)

BATTLE OF WORDS: GOP senators stormed at Zaretzki. Sprague and Rep. Dean P. Taylor, GOP state chairman, dared



Zaretzki to repeat his charges off the Senate floor, without immunity from libel suit. Zaretzki called a press conference, repeated his charges in milder form. Responding to GOP characterization of him as a "Charlie McCarthy" Zaretzki asked: "Did you ever see such a host of Kukla, Fran and Ollies [stars in a TV puppet show] in all your life?"

Minority Senate leader Mahoney and minority Assembly leader Barrigan took up the fire and in a joint statement said: "We believe the shocking revelations of the manner in which Fay [convicted extortionist] was permitted to live like a czar at Sing-Sing calls for a top-to-bottom investigation."

Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio, without smiling, summed up the watchwords of the campaign: "Graft and corruption."

CIO STEPS IN: The state CIO executive board plunged into the campaign last week by ruling that hereafter no CIO city council could support a Liberal Party candidate without approval of the state leaders. The move seemed to leave the Liberals with little more than David Dubinsky among labor leaders.

The CIO executive board also offered a platform for Rep. F. D. Roosevelt, Jr., for what is likely to be the opening speech in his campaign for the governorship on the Democratic ticket. He will lead off a series of CIO "political education" radio broadcasts over 20 state stations on Jan. 27.

Averell Harriman (a bare possibility for the Democratic nomination should Roosevelt's ambitions scare the political machine) and Mayor Wagner are booked for the later CIO broadcasts.

DEWEY'S STRATEGY: Gov. Dewey's defenses are primarily an entrenched up-state machine and a popular fear of Tammany. His campaign for "ethics" was unlikely to stir much support; his concessions on program (housing funds and a gesture toward school aid) are more effective.

The developing campaign was making the Governor so sensitive that he included in his recommendations to the committee on ethics that it provide better protection for those called before legislative investigations. The **World-Telegram & Sun**'s Albany correspondent, Walter MacDonald, commented:

"Some see the Governor's move as an attempt to bid for support in New York City, where a large section of the population heartily dislikes Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's methods."

RUN FOR THE MONEY: Among the Governor's high-sounding reforms is a study of the state's judicial system. GOP legislators support the study but last week Assemblyman Eugene Goddard (R-Monroe) commented candidly on the floor concerning a judicial appointment: "People have a right to have good judges. The man appointed to that post is the best money can buy."

The legislative business was tucked away out of public view. The Brooklyn **Eagle**'s City Hall columnist, Harold Harris, reported: "Mayor Wagner is expected to huddle privately with Gov. Dewey and State fiscal officials to decide the fate of the City's legislative program." He was likely to come away with part of what he wants, City Hall reporters believed.

Harris said that the Mayor

(Continued on Page N. Y. 4)

LONGSHORE LINEUP

Lewis sticking with ILA; AFL is stuck with the Governor

JOHN L. LEWIS had a chat last week with AFL Teamsters president David Beck. Carefully leaked to reporters were these details: 1) They talked about the New York waterfront; 2) though Lewis backs the old ILA, and Beck has spearheaded the raid by the new AFL-ILA, the talk was friendly—leading to what some called "a close entente from here on in." The rest was guesswork.

The N. Y. **Times** reported "it was made clear that Mr. Lewis would not drop his support of the old ILA under any circumstances." The **Daily News** said "other labor leaders leaked word that the teamsters' president was sure he had convinced Lewis of the wisdom of abandoning the ILA."

An authoritative spokesman

for the old I... told the GUARDIAN: "The **Times** is right." ILA pres. Capt. William Bradley was quoted as commenting on reports of a Lewis backdown: "Baloney." In Bradley's last talk with Lewis two weeks ago, the ILA said, the two had together "laid down strategy" on the waterfront.

FEDERATION DREAM: Aside from the general ILA-vs.-AFL rivalry on the piers, Beck has a teamsters' axe to grind in seeking jurisdiction over the loaders. Beck seemed likely to seek terms with Lewis on that issue at least, which could have led to the "entente" rumor. In the broader perspective is the dream of a Lewis-led federation that could represent the nation's basic industries: coal, steel (there have been conversations between Lewis and United Steelworkers pres. MacDonald); trucking and longshore.

Fresh support for the ILA came last week from the rank-and-file longshore paper **Dockers' News**, which at first had leaned toward the AFL though it criticized AFL support of the Dewey regimentation plans. Later it called for unity, backed neither side. Last week it called on longshoremen to "unite in the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. immediately," said the ILA had plainly won the vote and that the shipowners were "conspiring with Gov. Dewey and the AFL leadership" to nullify it.

DEWEY'S CRUSADE: The AFL-ILA leaned heavily on its one major ally, Gov. Dewey, who pressed a "war of extermination" against the ILA. The **Times** said: "The full resources of the state have been thrown behind an American Fedn. of Labor petition to upset the election." Dewey named former special asst. atty. general Whitney N. Seymour to "lead the state's fight" against the ILA in hearings before the Natl. Labor Relations Board on the validity of the election.

No one doubted that the ILA had won. It had scored 9,060 to the AFL's 7,569 and more than 3,000 of the 4,000 contested ballots had also been cast for the ILA. The AFL and Dewey in close teamwork, had tied the vote count up in legal knots. The NLRB, in the face of threats of Congressional investigation, had knuckled under, agreed to a 90-day delay in certification.

The Brooklyn grand jury investigating the waterfront stepped into the war on the ILA by announcing its regrets that it could not indict Capt. Bradley for what was called an "invasion of Brooklyn" by gangsters during the pier balloting.

SECURITY ON ICE: Longshoremen meanwhile submitted to government-controlled hiring, registration, fingerprinting, with few labor leaders other than Lewis and Harry Bridges rallying even moral support. In the absence of any NLRB decision the ship-owners would not bargain and for

the first time in decades the men on the waterfront lacked even the pretense of union protection. They had no contract. Grievances were mounting. Demands for a guaranteed 8-hour day and a pay raise were on ice.

Shortly after the pier vote Capt. Bradley had boldly talked strike. Later on the advice of cooler heads—perhaps Lewis'—Bradley said there would be no strike while the NLRB was deliberating on the matter. The 90-day interval could be used to mend the ILA's defenses. Representatives were lining up

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

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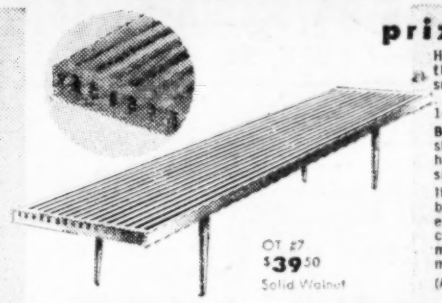

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

CONTEMPORARY FORUM
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Poetry And The Voice of Mankind
Lecturer: DR. FREDERIC EWEN
Readers: OSSIE DAVIS, RUBY DEE
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MONDAYS 8 to 9:30 P.M.
February 1:
"Shelley—19th Century Prometheus"
February 8:
"Heine—Poet Between Two Worlds"
February 15:
"Whitman—Poet of Democracy"
February 22:
"W. B. Yeats and T. S. Elliot—
The Poetry of Reaction"
March 1:
"Garcia Lorca and Pablo Neruda—
Voices of Spain & Latin America"
March 8:
"Singing Tomorrow—The Poetry
of Resistance & Heroism"

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Philosophy: Yesterday and Today
Lecturer: DR. BARROWS DUNHAM
author of "Giant in Chains"
Thursdays—8-9:30 p.m.
February 4:
"Enlightment & Progress—Philosophy of the Age of Reason"
February 11:
"The Strife of Opposites—Process or Idea? Hagel & Marx"
February 18:
"Philosophies in Competition—
Post-Hegelian 19th Century"
February 25:
"Truth as a Commodity—The
Pragmatic Movement in U.S.A."
March 4:
"The Lure of Language—
Logical Positivitism"
March 11:
"Philosophy As a Guide—The
Ethical Basis of Future Thinking"

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FESTIVE HOUSEWARMING, Sat., Jan. 23, 9 p.m. New headquarters American Peace Crusade. Refreshments, fun, celebrities, music; Soriano, famous peace artist, will sketch portraits. Contribution: $1. 35 West 26th Street.

COMEDY! SATIRE! MEYER WEISE holds forth at Film Division's Weekly Surprise Party. Social, refreshments and a surprise package at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Sat., Jan. 23, 9 p.m. Contrib: $1.

SAT. NIGHT, FEB. 27. Debut Concert of Choral Workshop of Jewish Young Folk Singers. Keep your eyes open—program announced in forthcoming ads.

GALA DANCE FESTIVAL featuring EDITH SEGAL & 100 DANCERS. With Al Moss and Bill Robinson. Madeline Simon, pianist. Sun., Feb. 14, The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. Tickets $1.80 & $1.20 on sale at Kinderland office, 1 Union Sq., Rm. 401. AL 5-6283. Benefit CAMP FRESH AIR FUND. Ausp: Parents Assoc. of Camp Kinderland.

A LECTURE—Big Four Conference and the Cold War. Speakers: Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party, 1952 vice-presidential candidate. Fri., Jan. 29, 8:15 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib: 25c. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party.

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EVENING IN THE THEATER

A delightful 'Madwoman of Chaillot'

By Cedric Belfrage

WHEN "Broadway" show business fell in line behind the political witch-hunters and decreed that a whole segment of professional talent had now become a sort of leper colony, it outraged decency but unwittingly may have done a good turn for the languishing arts of the theater. The "lepers," who not by chance include some of the cream of the profession, are slowly but surely adjusting themselves to their new status and finding ways and means to continue working in their field.

One group of Broadway outcasts set up Actors Mobile Theater, which for some years has been training factory and office workers, school teachers and others (now at 430 6th Av.) and staging plays for clubs and organizations. Its first production for a public New York run, with a mixed cast of professionals and AMT trainees, is a tribute to the work it has been doing and a confirmation of what was so pleasantly indicated in **The World of Sholom Aleichem** last year: that the witch-hunt is bearing good fruit in a revival of the creative "little theater" as New York knew it years ago.

BIG "LITTLE THEATER": The Madwoman of Chaillot—written by Jean Giraudoux in Paris during the Nazi occupation, and produced there in 1945 after the author's death—was one of the last plays with something important to say about our decaying, fascist-contaminated society which Broadway has had the guts to present since the cold war. (It ran several months in 1949, was reviewed in the GUARDIAN, 2/7/49.) In choosing this comedy to present at Club Cinema (6th Av. nr. 9th St.), AMT took on a challenge to its craftsmanship but has met it consummately. A delight in itself is the resourcefulness with which a cast of 31, several playing two parts, is maneuvered through this highly animated play as if the Club Cinema's cramped, three-level, curtainless platform accessible only from one side were as spacious as the Metropolitan Opera stage.

KAREN MORLEY
Cats, flowers and misfits

This mastery of technique and engineering over imposed limitations is "little theatre" at its positive best, and calls for bouquets for director Brett Warren and choreographer Valentina Litvinoff. And the uniformly good level of acting by a cast of which only three members are professionals speaks eloquently for the sort of training AMT has been giving its worker-students — a training, obviously, not merely in how to get inside an individual role but in disciplined teamwork with a proper sense of the total production.

HEALTHY LEPERS: The play, witty and not without profundity, is about an eccentric lady addicted to cats, flowers, feather boas and human misfits who confronts the efforts of profit-crazy "pimps" to destroy the beauty of life for "people who love people." Her duty, she decides, is to prevent it by exterminating them—a scheme into which a little army of waiters, cops, peddlers and other "riffraff" headed by a ragpicker enter with gusto as allies. The lady and the chief candidate for extermination are played with the skill and sensitivity we would expect from those excellent performers Karen Morley and Tony Kraber. The ragpicker, a honey of a part, is given more warmth and depth by the young Negro professional Clark Morgan than it got from John Carradine in the Broadway production.

AMT claims—and can most justly do so—the support of progressive New Yorkers in ensuring that its efforts continue and broaden until it has a permanent theater home. Judged by its first fruits presented for the general public, the enterprise launched by this group of "lepers" will do much to restore the New York theater to health.

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Waterfront

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

support along the east coast and in Puerto Rico.

To win vital community support the ILA was preparing a "housecleaning." Its exec. board worked out with the ILA Atlantic Coast District Council a plan for merging the small locals in Brooklyn, Manhattan, Staten Island and New Jersey into larger units with new officers and new bylaws. These are the locals dominated by Anthony Anastasia in Brooklyn and by similar pistol-wielding officials elsewhere.

FRIED SARDINES: Asked whether such a merger will mean that some old officials will go, Bradley said: "I presume it will." Last week there was no word from the union's tough guys and it was too early to say whether they would weather the storm.

Some of them were in trouble already. Six of Anastasia's followers last week were found guilty of "unlawful assembly and rioting" during last October's waterfront strike. Gerardo Anastasia, "Tough Tony's" brother, awaited trial on the same charges. Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, an outspoken enemy of the union, held the six small fry for later sentencing. They could get up to five years imprisonment.

Because the small fry were under fire not from the union but from the union's enemies, and because they seemed brought to book on the wrong charges, they stood to gain some unearned sympathy.

HOW SLUSHY CAN A FUND GET?

Private firms reap harvest clearing the city of snow; Wagner 'foes' get big jobs

FOR some, the recent snowfall was a windfall. The snow and slush was measured not in inches but in dollars, and made a winter bonanza for contractors with political connections.

When the storm hit, official estimates put the cost of snow removal at $100,000 an inch. Ten inches fell early in the week and two inches on Thursday, making 12 in all, presumably for a total cost to the taxpayer of $1,200,000. But last Friday when the GUARDIAN queried spokesmen for the Sanitation Dept. the total cost was estimated at between $2 and $3 million.

SNOW PLUMS: The difference of $1,000,000 or more could be accounted for only by the snow-removal contracts let out while the snow still fell. There is no public bidding on such contracts. Long in advance of the city's first snowfall, contractors register with the Sanitation Dept. When the snow flies the city administration parcels out the plums.

Each contractor is allotted a certain area of the city. In some cases he undertakes to load the snow and haul it to the rivers; in others, Sanitation Dept. men load the snow and the contractors take it away. Though the rates are fixed by departmental rule, in other years reports circulated widely that the number of trips made to the river were frequently doubled as on a salesman's expense account, known in the trade as a swindle sheet.

GRAVY & SLUSH: In last week's snowfall Wagner's administration seemed most generous to its recent rivals. In Queens the contractor hauling the most snow—and gravy—was Tully and DiNapoli Inc., closely connected with James A. Roe, Democratic Party boss who backed Impellitteri and assailed Wagner as a tool of communists.

Working the Bronx was Colonial Sand & Stone Co., whose president is Anthony Pope, son of the late Generoso Pope, and brother of Generoso Jr., publisher of the N. Y. **Enquirer** and the Italian language daily **Il Progresso.** The Pope family, which once admired Mussolini, also backed Impellitteri, though it later supported Wagner. In all, the city hired 300 trucks from private contractors.

Snow has been gravy for politicians for years. Only the late Mayor LaGuardia outlawed all private contracting in snow removal. When snow fell the Sanitation Dept. hired extra hands, worked regular men overtime (at overtime pay). In many ways the city was cleaner. Contractors came back under O'Dwyer and Impellitteri. Under Wagner the prediction was: snow followed by slush funds.

O, THE SNOW, THE BEAUTIFUL SNOW, FILLING THE SKY AND EARTH BELOW
And the pockets of private contractors too, as traffic snarls, subway trains stall and skyscrapers grow cold. There must be another way out of the mess.

TB HOUSING

8 city blocks — how people live in them

A SURVEY released last week found eight square blocks (between 90th and 94th Sts., Central Park W. and Amsterdam Av.) suffering from a housing malady best described as "galloping consumption." It warned that the city "will find itself with a slum problem much greater than that which existed before the present housing and redevelopment programs were initiated."

The report, issued by the Committee on Neighborhood Conservation of the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council, found that 94% of the brownstone houses in the area had been converted, legally or otherwise, to "furnished apartments." Most frequently these were a single room with a hot plate or gas burner screened off in a corner (described as a "kitchenette" and frequently referred to as another half-room), rented to an entire family. In 1940 the area had 3,9550 dwelling units; in 1950, 4,570; in 1953, 6,250.

THEY SHARE: Of the families living in such rooms, 43% are Puerto Rican; this comprises 88% of the Puerto Rican families living in the area. Out of 140 one-room and 1½-room "apartments" in the area, 47 are inhabited by more than 3 persons.

More than half of these furnished 1-1½ room apartments rent for more than $54. Throughout the eight-block area surveyed, 24% of the people living in furnished apartments of any size are unemployed and another 44% make less than $60 a week.

Baths and toilets are shared by 153 families (71% of all families living in furnished apartments of any size). Of these, 88 families use bathrooms shared by 3-5 families; 20 use bathrooms shared by 6 families; 21 use bathrooms shared by 7 or more.

THEY TELL WHY: Of the Puerto Rican families quizzed, 57.2% didn't like their homes; 23.9% didn't like the neighborhood. Only 22.1% of the non-Puerto Rican residents had kicks about their apartments (there are a few large apartment houses in the area), but 59% said they didn't like the neighborhood.

Crowded quarters topped the list of Puerto Ricans' criticism (18%). Other complaints: 16.7%, poor service; 15.3%, noise; 10.9%, high rent; 8%, no facilities.

The Council called for "an immediate comprehensive study of all such areas" and a program of "neighborhood conservation" to "maintain residential desirability, property investment and tax values. It was one way of talking about people at home.

3-DAY SESSION: JAN. 29-31

ASP conference on McCarthyism and the arts and professions

"The Artist and Professional in the Age of McCarthy" is the theme of the annual three-day conference of the N. Y. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, Fri.-Sun., Jan. 29-31.

Addressing the keynote session at 8:30 p.m. Fri., Jan. 29, at the Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. (admission $1.50) will be: Herbert Biberman, director of the film **Salt of the Earth**; lawyer Royal W. France; Thelma Dale, N. Y. State Progressive Party director; author Ira Wallach; N. Y. ASP chairman Edwin Berry Burgum. There will be a dramatic presentation on McCarthyism directed by Elliot Sullivan.

Saturday morning's general session (10:30-12:30) at ASP headquarters, 35 W. 64th St., will analyze the work of the N. Y. Council with Marvel Cooke, director.

Four panels from 2 to 5 p.m. Saturday, Jan. 30, will evaluate the effects of the attacks by McCarthy and others and plan fight-back mobilization in various fields. Panels, all at Steinway Hall, 113 W. 57th St., include:

I. McCARTHYISM AND THE ARTIST: Charles White and Philip Evergood, (Rm. 601).
II. HUMAN WELFARE vs. McCARTHYISM: author and anthropologist Eslanda Robeson and architect and city planner Hans Blumenfeld, (Rm. 608).
III. McCARTHYISM AND THE ORTHODOX RECESSION IN THE ARTS (music, theatre, film): film producer Paul Jarrico, poet Beulah Richardson, singer Hope Foy, composer Earl Robinson, (Rm. 605).
IV. McCARTHYISM, THE CENSOR: author Ira Wallach and GUARDIAN exec. editor James Aronson, (Rm. 622).

Sunday sessions at 10:30 a.m. and 3 p.m. at 35 W. 64th St. will cover committee reports, by-laws, elections. Registration for the 3-day conference is $2.50.

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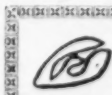
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INTERNATIONAL FILM CLASSICS:
DENMARK: **Day of Wrath** (1944), resistance to Nazi occupation thrugh study of 17th century witchrcaft. Jan. 22-24.
AUSTRALIA: **Wherever She Goes**, biog. of great contemporary pianist. Jan. 29-31.
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily.
St. Louis Blues (1928) Dudley Murphy dir., with Bessie Smith.
Zero de Conduite (1933), dir. Jean Vigo; La Peche a la Baleine (1934) dir. Tchimoukoff. Jan. 25-31.
YOUTH & AGE: Day in the Life of a 5-Year Old and Future of Old Age. 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Sat., Jan. 22, Museum of City of N. Y., 55th Av. & 103d St. Free.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **The Horsemen** (Russ.) & **Pirate Submarine** (Ft.), Jan. 28-29.
ART, 36 E. 8th St. **100 Hour Hunt** & **Twice Upon a Time** (both Br.), thru Jan. 27.
BARONET, 3d Av. & 59th St. **The Final Test** (Br., R. Morley), from Jan. 25.
BEEKMAN, 24 Av. bet. 65-66 Sts. **39 Steps** (reissue) & **Lady Vanishes** (Br.), Jan. 23-29.
BEVERLY, 3d Av. & 50th St. **Place in the Sun** & **Strangers on a Train** (Br.), thru Jan. 23. **Last Holiday** & **Run for Your Money** (both Br., Guinness), Jan. 24-26. **Story of 3 Loves** & **Pat and Mike**, Jan. 27-30.
BIJOU, 45th St. W. of B'way. **Gilbert and Sullivan** (Br.), cont., reserved seats.
COLONY, 1549 2d Av. **From Here to Eternity**, thru Jan. 23; **The Robe**, Jan. 26-Feb. 1.
85TH ST. TRANSLUX, 85th & Madison. **Murder on Monday** (Br.), Jan. 20-23; **The Greatest Love** (Bergman), Jan. 24-26.
8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. **Little World of Don Camillo** (It.), thru Jan. 25; **The Actress** (S. Tracy), Jan. 26-28; **The Wild One** (Brando), Jan. 29-Feb. 2.
55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Spice of Life** (Fr., Noel Noel) & **Pleasure Garden** (Br.), cont.
52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. Lib. cont.
FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **Conquest of Everest** (Br. docum.), cont.
GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. **Stalag 17** & **Holiday Affair**, Jan. 24-26; **Folly To Be Wise** & **Passionate Sentry** (both Br.), Jan. 27-Feb. 2.
GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. **Times Gone By** (It.), cont.
LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. **Heidi** (Swiss, Eng. dubbed) & **White Mane**, cont.
MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. **Murder Will Out** (Br.), Jan. 28-30.
NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **The Golden Coach** (Italian-made in English, with Magnani in the Commedia dell'Arte), cont., reserved seats.
PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. **Captain's Paradise** (Br., Guinness), cont.
PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Julius Caesar**, cont.
60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. **The Horse's Mouth** (Br. comedy), cont.
STANLEY, 7th Av. at 42d St. **Admiral Ushakov**, biog. of 18th century Soviet Naval hero, Michel Romm, dir., music by Katchaturian. Cont.
STODDARD, B'way & 89th. **From Here to Eternity**, thru Jan. 26.
SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. **Disney's Living Desert** (full-length docum.), cont.
THALIA, 95th & B'way. **7 Deadly Sins** (Fr.), Jan. 22-28.
WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **Beggar's Opera** & **Something Money Can't Buy** (both Br.), thru Jan. 23.
YORKTOWN, B'way & 89th. **The Greatest Love** (Bergman) & **The Lake**, Jan. 27-30.

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Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Concourse. **Beggar's Opera**, thru Jan. 25.
DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. **Justice Is Done** (Fr.) & **Picasso**, Jan. 24-27.

Events for Children

Films

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. Rivers, Sat., Jan. 23, at 2 p.m.: **Pigtails & Nomads of the Jungles**, Wed., Jan. 27, at 4 p.m.: **A Visit to Great Britain**, Sat., Jan. 30, at 2 p.m. Free.
B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Wash. Av. **The U.S.A.** (documen. film). Sun., Jan. 24, at 4 p.m. Lecture Hall. Free. **Travel Films & Comedies** (younger children), Sats. at 2 p.m. Free.
B'KLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. **Bill and Coo** (Bird Movieland, color) & **Disney's Bear Country**, Sat., Jan. 30, at 3 p.m. $1.
MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **Democracy in America** & **Pioneer Children** (documen. fi'ms), Sat., Jan. 30, at 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.
85TH ST. TRANS-LUX, 85th St. & Madison. **Special Cartoon Show**, Sat., Jan. 23, at 11 a.m. Children 35c, adults 50c.

Plays

TO AWAKE THE KING, by Jewish Theatre for Children. Joan of Arc Playhouse, 154 W. 93d St. Sun., Jan. 31, 3 p.m. Children 50c; adults $1. CI 5-8200.
ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER, by Junior Theater. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Performances on Sats., Jan. 23 & 30, at 2:15 p.m. $1.20 & $2.40. CI 6-0424.
THE MAGISTRATE AND THE STONE: Chinese legend. Henry St. Workshop, 466 Grand St. Sat., Jan. 30, at 3 p.m. Children 10c; adults 60c.
LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD & THE TOY SHOP, by Children's Own Theater. Metropolitan-Duane, 201 W. 13th St., at 7th Av. Performances Sats. at 3 p.m. 76c-$1.80. PL 7-6300
HANSEL AND GRETEL, presented by Children's Fairy Tale Theater. Carnegie Hall (Recital-Theater), 154 W. 57th St. Sun., Jan. 31, at 3 p.m. Reservations now. CI 7-7460. $1.20-$2.

Miscellaneous

B'KLYN COMMUNITY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, children's concert at Midwood H.S., Glenwood Rd. & Bedford Av. Free tickets from Community Service, B'klyn College. Sat., Jan. 30, at 2:30 p.m. UL 9-2400.
CLUB REGISTRATION: B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Clubs meet on weekday afterncons, include: Doll, Book, Museum Gazette, Eskimo, Pet, Microscope, Bird, Science & Craft and Indian club. Registration thru Jan. 30. Free.
LET'S LISTEN TO A STORY, recorded by WMCA in library branches. **Julie's Secret Sloth**, Sat., Jan. 23. **The Little Witch**, Sat., Jan. 30. Hear on station WMCA 9:05 a.m.
NEW MUSIC QUARTET, for young listeners. Children's Center, YM-YWHA, Lex. Av. & 92d St. Sun., Jan. 30, at 3:30 p.m. $1-$2. Call TR 6-2336 for reservations or write Children's Center.

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And his long-necked five-string banjo will present a Folksong Festival at the Columbia University Inst. of Arts and Sciences, at 8:30 p.m., Thurs., Jan. 28, at McMillin Theater, B'way & 116th St. Admission: $1.50

Legislators

(Continued from Page N.Y. 1)

would not appear at the hearing on the State Budget but would send Deputy Mayor Henry Epstein. The real bargaining seemed to be set for the huddles.

NO OPPOSITION: The Albany hopper meanwhile was filling up with bills whose fate would probably be decided in a last-minute rush some time in March. Among these is Assemblyman Van Duzer's (R-Ulster Co.) bill to rule off the ballot the Communist Party or any party which can be charged with having the same principles. It has stirred no opposition from the Democrats and has been referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Assemblyman Genesta Strong (R-Nassau) has a little Taft-Hartley bill now in the Labor Committee which would require a 30-day cooling off period for all strikes affecting "the public interest."

Defeat of both would depend on popular outcries as yet scarcely heard.

•

Ask for Ray, girls

FLUSHING, L. I.

O frabjous day! Got my first week's pay today. Hope to kick in a little more frequently for a while. This here $5 will start it.

Hope there is to be an angel "stag line" at the ball. If I get there I won't be bringin' nobody. I don't waltz too bad when I ain't troubled with the mis'ry.

Ray Scott

ASP CONFERENCE on
"The Artist and Professional in the Age of McCarthy"
★
Keynote Session:
FRI., JAN. 29 — 8:30 P.M.
THE PYTHIAN, 135 W. 70th St.
Speakers: Herbert Biberman, E. Berry Burgum, Thelma Dale, Royal W. France, Ira Wallach
Dramation Production:
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Registration $1.50
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Panel 1: McCarthyism & the Artist
Speakers: Charles White, Philip Evergood. Chairman: Helen Silver
Panel 2: Human Welfare vs. McCarthyism
Speakers: Eslanda Robeson, Hans Blumenfeld. Chairman: Ed. Weil
Panel 3: McCarthyism vs. The Orthodox Recession in the Arts
Speakers: Paul Jarrico, Beulah Richardson, Earl Robinson, Hope Foye. Chairman: Lester Cole
Panel 4: McCarthyism the Censor
Speakers: Ira Wallach, James Aronson. Chairman: Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein
Registration $1
For details: N.Y. Council, ASP
35 W. 64th St. SU 7-4677

Where to Go

Drama

ARISTOPHANES' social comedy **Ecclesiazusae**, subtitled **Time for a Change**, dir. Robert Klein. 8:30 p.m. Sun., Jan. 31, Cooper Union, 4th Av. & Astor Pl. Free.
CORIOLANUS, by Shakespeare, with Robert Ryan, directed by John Houseman. Phoenix Theater, 2d Av. & 12th St. Eves. Tues.-Sun. $1.20-$3, Sat.-Sun. mats. $1.20-$2.70. AL 4-0525.
MADWOMAN OF CHAILLOT, with Karen Morley & Tony Kraber, dir. 8:30 p.m. Mon.-Thurs., Sun. mat., 2:40. Actor's Mobile Theatre, 430 6th Av. Reserv: GR 7-2430.
THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Pressman. Greenwich Mews Interracial theater, 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40 p.m. Reserv: TR 3-4810.
THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves., mats. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.
OTHELLO, Shakespeare Guild Festival professional repertory. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St. Thurs.-Sun. eves., 8:40. $1.20-$1.80; Sat. mat., 2:40. 78c-$1.20. TR 9-5430. Thru Jan. 31.

Music & Dance

MARIAN ANDERSON, concert. Sat. eve., Jan. 23. Hunter College, 69th St. & Park Av. RE 7-8490. $1.80-$4.30.
AMERICAN & ROUMANIAN MUSIC — Ray Lev, Martha Schlamme, Louis Graeler, Jewish Young Folk Singers, People's Artists Folk-Song Quartet. 8:40 p.m. Sat., Jan. 23, The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. $1.20, $1.80, $2.40, at People's Artists, 124 W. 21st St. WA 9-3997.
JEWISH MUSIC & DANCE, Fred Berk, atr. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Jan. 24, Cooper Union, 8th St. & 4th Av. Free.
N. Y. C. BALLET, Geo. Balanchine, dir. 8:30 p.m., eves. except Monday; Mats., Sat. & Sun. $1.50-$3.60.
Tues. eve., Jan. 26: Swan Lake, Metamorphoses, A La Francaix.
Wed. eve., Jan. 27: Concerto Barocco, Firebird, Pas de Trois, Cakewalk.
Thurs. eve., Jan. 28: Fanfare, Opus 34, Harlequinade, Symphony in C.
Fri. eve., Jan. 29: Concerto Barocco, Filling Station, The Cage, Bourree Fantasque.
Sat. mat., Jan. 30: Firebird, Filling Station, Pas de Trois, Fanface.
Sat. eve., Jan. 30: Serenade, Age of Anxiety, Sylvia, Cakewalk.
Sun. mat., Jan. 31: Swan Lake, La Valse, A La Francaix, Pied Piper.
Sun. eve., Jan. 31: Serenade, Filling Station, Sylvia, Metamorphoses.
MARTHA GRAHAM, dance recital, 2:40 p.m. Sun., Jan. 24, YM-YWHA, Lexington Av. & 92d St. $2-$3. TR 6-2366.
THE GONDOLIERS, by Gilbert & Sullivan. Village Light Opera Co., 8:30 p.m. Fri. & Sat., Jan. 22-23, Textile H.S., 351 W. 18th St. $1.80 & $2.40. OR 7-3472.
GRILLER STRING QUARTETTE, 8:15 p.m. Sat., Jan. 30, Wash. Irving H.S., Irving Pl. & 16th St. 75c.

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FREE CONCERTS: Piano & chamber music by Henry St. Settlement Music School, 3 p.m. Sun., Jan. 23, Museum of City of N.Y., 5th Av. & 103d St.; Arnold Schoenberg commemoration, 2 p.m., B'klyn Museum, Eastern P'way & Wash. Av., Sun., Jan. 23.
AMATO OPERA, 8:30 p.m., 159 Bleecker St. Free. Reserv: GR 7-2844. Barber of Seville (in English), Fri-Sun., Jan. 29-31, in Italian, Jan. 22-24; matinee in English, 2:30 p.m., Sat., Jan. 23 & 30.
NADYNE BREWER, soprano. Classical concert featuring selections from "Songs of the Auvergne," 8:30 p.m., Sat., Jan. 30, Carnegie Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Tickets: $1.20, $1.80, $2.40, from Intl. Folkways, 113 W. 42d St.

Miscellaneous

I. F. STONE on the wiretapping bill menace to civil liberties, 8:30 p.m., Fri., Jan. 29, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. $2.60 & $1.20 from sponsor Emergency Civil Liberties Comm., 421 7th Av.
SCOTT NEARING lecture series, No. IV: "Communism & West Europe," 8:30 p.m., Tues., Jan. 26, Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (14th St.) $1 at door, 75c in advance from Monthly Review Assoc., 66 Barrow St.
GEORGE GROSZ, drawings & paintings of satire and social protest, Whitney Museum, 10 W. 8th St. Thru Mar. 2.
MILDRED GROSSMAN, documen. photos made in Europe & U.S. showing "warm relations between people of all nationalities." Teachers Center Gallery, 206 W. 15th St. Jan. 25-Feb. 6, opening reception, 3-6 p.m., Jan. 24.
RECEPTION for Philip Bonosky, author of **Burning Valley**, and 2d Anniversary Party, Writers Workers Workshop, Committee for the Negro in the Arts. 4 p.m. Sun., Jan. 24, 303 W. 125th St.
GUATEMALA, symposium by 3 recent visitors there, Betty Millard, Dr. Bernard Bender, Elmer Bendiner, sponsored by Latin America Today. 8 p.m. Sun., Jan. 24, eachers Center, 206 W. 15th St. Donation $1, dance & social.
PHILIP REISMAN, paintings around N.Y., street, waterfront scenes. ACA Gallery, 63 E. 57th St. Thru Jan. 30.
LENIN IN OCTOBER, Russian film with discussion on "The Lenin Heritage" by Alexander Trachtenberg and Joseph Clark. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Jan. 24, Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. $1.

EYE-WITNESS REPORTS ON GUATEMALA
• ELMER BENDINER
N.Y. Editor, NATL. GUARDIAN
• BETTY MILLARD
Editor, Latin America Today
• DR. BERNARD BENDER
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War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

nature of the "new" policy that is being made clear. The edifice for waging global atomic war has been erected according to plan. But its foundation is of sand—and the sands are running out for Washington economically, politically and even militarily. 1953 saw:

- Soviet economy entering a new phase which permitted important steps toward a big rise in living standards in the socialist world, while capitalist-world economy moved nearer to crisis.
- The "movement of local political situations all over the world . . . on balance unfavorable to the West" (Joseph Alsop, 1/18).
- The balance of military power shifting against the U.S., as even many U.S. military experts have admitted.

DEEPENING DILEMMAS: In this situation Washington "is playing [the trump card of atomic weapons] for all

Ludas Matyi, Budapest

its worth" (**WSJ**, 1/11). The Truman administration also played this card in its efforts to reverse the tide of history. But the gamble is now more dangerous:

". . . In the technical sense of the term we may indeed be far away from push-button war . . . but we are living right now in a situation in which the flashing of certain signals, possibly ambiguous signals, would in effect push buttons starting the quick unwinding of a military force which has been tensed and coiled for nuclear war" (**Foreign Affairs**, 1/54).

Trying to escape the dilemmas of its policy by resort to the atomic "trump card," Washington sinks into deeper dilemmas. Hanson Baldwin pointed out (**NYT**, 1/2) how "totally lacking in realism" is the U.S. assumption that its "atomic advantage will endure"—an assumption which

". . . ignores, moreover, the increasing military and political influence of a strong Russian atomic stockpile upon America's allies in W. Europe and Asia."

WHO WANTS PEACE? In its reply to Eisenhower's atom-peace pool plan, the U.S.S.R. advanced a new proposal: an immediate international agreement not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons as a first step towards unconditional banning of their manufacture and possession. This proposal, the **Christian Science Monitor** believed (12/22), "will have considerable world appeal." The **New Republic** (1/11) pointed to the "enormous cost" to the U.S.

". . . if the Soviet Union comes to be recognized as the nation anxious to spare the world's cities and civilians, while the U.S. is seen by all nations to be preparing to extend the battlefields of a war of annihilation over the homes and hovels of three-fourths of the world."

THE IRON FIST: In immediate terms the atomic-threat policy is designed to influence the negotiations into which Washington is being forced in both Europe and Asia. On the eve of the Berlin four-power talks, Washington dispatched two squadrons of guided missiles, capable of delivering atomic warheads, to W. German bases from which they "could be directed on targets over half of Communist-run Czechoslovakia, the whole of Soviet-occupied East Zone of Germany and its strategic Baltic Coast and as far east as Poland" (**UP**, 1/17). The purpose of this move as well as of "public statements" by high officials is to enable "Secy. Dulles to lead from strength rather than from weakness" in coming talks with the Russians (**NYHT**, 1/17).

Nothing could show more clearly the total unrealism of Washington's determination—reaffirmed by both Dulles and British Foreign Secy. Eden—to push through the European Army. Such threats will not intimidate Moscow but will further undermine the U.S. position in Europe.

Against the background of boasts of U.S. air and naval power girding Asia, Washington insisted on turning over unrepatriated Chinese and N. Korean POW's to Chiang and Rhee in face of Peking's warning that this would "destroy the truce." The U.S. has already moved to block or postpone the General Assembly session demanded by India to review the deteriorating Korean situation. But the compulsion for real talks on Asia involving China is growing (India is reported ready to present a plan for such talks to the UN Assembly when it meets), and there are advocates for a "new" U.S. China policy even within the Administration.

Butter steals headlines

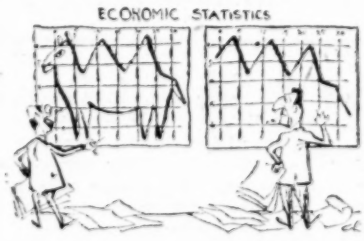
The atomic-threat policy is advanced at a time when the international facts of life are demanding normalization of West-East relations. Such is the growing Western need that "even the most conservative groups" in the U.S. are calling for more East-West trade (**NYHT**, 1/10).

The whole question of such trade was highlighted when the **Journal of Commerce** (1/12) disclosed that the U.S.S.R. was seeking to buy from the huge U.S. surpluses 200 million pounds of butter (about ⅔ of surplus stocks) and 150,000 tons of cottonseed oil (⅓ of the surplus). Government officials put the figures much lower, but the **J of C** stuck to its story that the amount sought was considerably higher than export license applications showed.

The government buys butter at almost 67c a lb. and cottonseed oil (used for margarine) at about 15c from the dairy and meat trusts, thus supporting the price primarily for these processing trusts rather than for the farmer. Proposals to get rid of the butter surplus, which is on the verge of spoiling, by selling 2 lbs. to consumers for the going price of 1 lb. plus 10c were indignantly rejected by these trusts, who charge consumers 75-90c a lb. and don't want prices lowered.

EMBARRASSING MOMENTS: **J of C** surveys showed business and market sources in favor of the butter-oil sale to the U.S.S.R., and Washington reactions ranging "from generally favorable to non-committal." (Sen. McCarthy, from the No. 1 butter state, ducked the issue, being at first unavailable for comment, then suggesting surplus butter rather be given to S. Korea and Pakistan.)

But the President turned down the butter deal if it meant selling at anything less than the 67c the government



Carrefour, Paris

"Well, anyway, we come out with about the same results."

paid, since that would be "subsidizing the Communists." In other words, the taxpayers must take a total loss and continue to pay carrying charges of $1 million a month on the butter surplus rather than sell to the U.S.S.R., which reportedly offered 50c, several cents above the world market price. (The butter can, of course, once it is rancid, be sent back to processors for "re-working." So far the U.S. has been unable to unload any of its butter surplus for commercial export; quality rating of U.S. butter is low on world markets.) Business circles saw more chance of the cottonseed oil deal going through.

HARD TIMES & HARD FACTS: Washington clearly feared the tremendous impact the butter deal would give to the campaign for East-West trade. Asst. Secy. of Agriculture John Davis indicated "there have been many such applications that have not come to light" (**WSJ**, 1/13). Businessmen and business journals saw the deal, if consummated, as opening the door to further sales of the U.S. farm surpluses, food and machinery equipment.

The revealing light the Soviet proposal threw on the workings of the free enterprise system was not likely to prove helpful to Washington at a time when farmers, consumers and workers are facing hard times. Washington may want some of its farm surpluses for war reserves but they are a mounting threat to farmers, and reveal to consumers the high-profits-for-big-business behind the soaring cost of living. The Soviet proposal—of which the last has certainly not been heard—showed dramatically how international problems enter into everyday life, and how the pressures of everyday life work to outweigh grandiose atomic threats.

Los Angeles Herald Express

SUPPORTING ROLE

St. Lawrence

(Continued from page 1)

quickly as possible, for they would like to use the enlarged ship canals for their ore carriers."

The grand project, originally conceived as a boon to 40,000,000 people, is now reduced by the Cadillac Crusaders to another give-away for private utilities and expenditure of public funds with Big Steel as the main beneficiary. In this guise, the St. Lawrence "Seaway" is likely to gain Congressional approval at long last.

HE DEFENDED THE ROSENBERGS

Act to disbar Bloch

EMANUEL H. BLOCH, defense attorney and "a brother who had lost a brother and a sister" with the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, said at their funeral last June (GUARDIAN, 6/29/53):

"The American people should know, as the rest of the world knows, that America today, by virtue of the execution of the Rosenbergs, is living under the heel of a military dictatorship garbed in civilian attire. The men who are running our country have no hearts. They have stones for hearts. They have the souls of murderers. This was an act of cold, deliberate murder. When I requested in Washington that these executions be put off so that they would not occur on the Jewish Sabbath, the request was granted by a barbarian who, instead of postponing the hour of their death, pushed it up so they could be done away with before the beginning of the Sabbath. . . . I place the murder of the Rosenbergs at the door of President Eisenhower, Atty. Gen. Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover. This was not the American tradition, not American justice and not American fair play."

Last week the Bar Assn. of N.Y. City asked the Appellate Divn. of the State Supreme Court to take action to discipline Bloch for his statement (the court can censure, suspend or disbar an attorney). Under the law such proceedings are required to be kept secret while they are still before the court; the story had, however, been "leaked" (but not by Bloch's office) to newspapers which broke it last Tuesday. Frank H. Gordon, chief counsel for the Bar Assn.'s grievance committee, declined to discuss details of the case with reporters. Bloch had this comment to make:

EMANUEL H. BLOCH
There was an aftermath

"I have had an unblemished record before the Bar for the past 30 years. Indeed, in the Rosenberg Case itself, I received strong praise from the courts before which I appeared on behalf of my clients. Of course I shall defend myself."

Malenkov's New Year message to Americans

In answer to questions addressed to him by Intl. News Service's European gen. manager Kingsbury Smith, Premier G. M. Malenkov of the U.S.S.R. wished the American people "success in the development of friendly relations with all peoples" and added:

"I hold that there are no objective obstacles to an improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States in the New Year. . . . All the peoples are yearning for lasting peace, and there are favorable possibilities for further relaxation of international tension in 1954. The governments, and first of all the governments of the great powers, cannot but heed the voice of the peoples and cannot but reckon with their growing desire for lasting peace.

". . . The most important step which could be undertaken in 1954 . . . would be the conclusion of an agreement among countries, on the strength of which the parties to the agreement would assume the solemn and unconditional obligation not to use atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction. Such an agreement would facilitate the possibility of reaching an understanding on full prohibition of atomic weapons and establishment of strict international control over the implementation of the prohibition to use atomic energy for war purposes.

"Simultaneously with this the Soviet government would deem it necessary to reach agreement on a substantial reduction of all other types of armaments and armed forces. All this undoubtedly would reduce state expenditures for military needs and would ease the economic conditions of the population."

—**Pravda**, Jan. 1.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words); minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, Natl. Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS of Ford Foundation, policy path-breaker 21 years U. of Chicago, defender democratic process and civil rights, speaks Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m., on "EDUCATION: HAS IT A FUTURE?" Adm. $1. 2936 W. 8th St., ½ blk. e. of Vermont. UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.

SAT. NITE, JAN 30, at the Park Manor, 607 S. Western. Testimonial Birthday Party on her 50th birthday to honor Rose Chernin. Entertainment, refreshments. Adm: $1.

Boston

MARTHA SCHLAMME CONCERT—Songs of All Nations. Featured Speakers. 30th Anniversary of Daily Worker. Sat., Jan. 30, 8:15 p.m. Boston Conservatory of Music, 31 Hemenway St. Adm. $1 plus tax. Ausp: Boston Freedom of Press Committee.

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General

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Books & Publications

THE MARXIST QUARTERLY, first number just out. Editor: Emile Burns. Editorial Board includes Maurice Cornforth, John Gollan, James Klugman and others. Annual subscription, post free, $1.75. Single copies, 50 cents. P. Carter, 51, Willesden Lane, London, N.W. 6, England.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, Feb. issue. "Labor and the Democrats," special analysis by Bert Cochran. "The Secret of McCarthy's Formula," important discussion of use of anti-communism against American people by George Clarke. "Will the Brakes Hold?" so-called 'stabilizers' in U.S. economy. Special introductory sub: 6 mos., $1. 863 Broadway, New York 3.

SIN OF THE PROPHET, by Truman Nelson, a great novel about Anthony Burns, the fugitive slave. Published at $5, now $1.25 ppd. Anna Frank's DIARY OF A YOUNG GIRL, published at $3, now $1.25 ppd. Jack Foner, Box 576, Long Beach, N. Y.

Records

THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE. William Mandel's 30-minute L.P. "Issue of the Month" No. 2, now in preparation. No 1, "Why McCarthyism Will Be Licked," still available. Subscription only, 3 months for $5. Freedom Discs, Box 182, Audubon Station, N. Y. C. 32.

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YOU Can Help Reverse Smith Act Convictions

The appeal in the celebrated case of the **U. S. v. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn** and her 12 co-defendants in the second Foley Square trial will come becore the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in late February or March.

The late Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior in FDR's cabinet, said of this case that it is "Perhaps the most important constitutional case in our country's history."

Mr. Ickes did not exaggerate. A reversal of the lower Court conviction in the case of the 13 Communist defendants would cripple the McCarthy conspiracy to destroy the Bill of Rights and give renewed courage to defenders of American constitutional liberties everywhere.

Such a reversal of the unjust convictions is entirely possible.

The U.S. Supreme Court split 4-4 on the merits and wisdom of the Smith Act prosecutions in the first Foley Square trial. The last Chief Justice Vinson said of future cases: "Where there is doubt as to the intent of the defendants, the nature of their activities or their power to bring about the evil, **the Court will review the convictions with the scrupulous care demanded by our Constitution."**

The Appeal is based upon 3 grounds:

1. No evidence was produced linking any of the defendants directly with **specfic intent** to cause the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

2. No evidence was produced showing a "clear and present danger" of overthrow of the U.S. government by the defendants. Even the Smith Act, which Justices Black and Douglas consider unconstitutional, requires that **specific intent** and **clear and present danger** must be proven.

3. (a) The Judge permitted prejudicial testimony which had no connection with the defendants.

(b) Certain members of the Jury were proven in court to be prejudiced.

HELP! The Citizens Emergency Defense Conference calls upon you to help in this key fight to preserve the Bill of Rights and to repeal the Smith Act. We want you to insert this statement in publications throughout the country. **We must raise $25,000 to meet the costs of this case.**

As we stated in our original appeal in March, 1952: "Support of this case requires no position on the political program of the defendants. It requires only a defense of their Constitutional rights."

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AKIN TO TREASON?

A Telegram to PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House, Washington, D. C.

The undersigned, Communists and veterans of World War II, share with millions of other Americans a sense of profound shock at your proposal to deprive Smith Act victims, among whom we number ourselves, of our citizenship.

Your unconstitutional proposal represents a clear break with American democratic tradition. It is a throwback to medieval law under which kings visited banishment upon subjects who incurred royal displeasure. It is a new attempt to paralyze free speech, free press and free assembly for those who disagree with the foreign and domestic policies of your millionaire cabinet.

Your proposal is, in short, McCarthyism, and can be passed only by a Congress terrorized by McCarthyism. No court possessing the slightest understanding of basic American law could in good conscience uphold it.

As Americans who have served our country loyally—some of us receiving wounds and citations—we reject emphatically the notion that any of our activities in war or peace are "akin to treason." Were Bob Thompson's activities—which earned him the Distinguished Service Cross—"akin to treason"? Were any of the activities of the 15,000 American Communists who served in our armed forces in World War II "akin to treason"?

We have no higher allegiance than to the people of the United States and the sovereign power that resides in the American people. We affirm that no basic social change can come in our country except by the will of the people. We reject any doctrine that any social system should be imposed upon the American people by force and violence.

No Congressional act or executive fiat can separate us from our loyalty to our nation. Patriotic Americans we are; patriotic Americans we shall remain.

We regard the real enemies of the American people as those economic royalists and their political agents who, rejecting the negotiation of international differences, would drive us into an atomic world slaughter. We regard as the real traitors to America those who would destroy basic American liberties and the hard-won gains of workers and farmers under the smokescreen of a Hitler-like "war on Communism."

McCarthyism, the American form of fascism, is the clear and present danger to American liberties. To defeat McCarthyism is the sacred duty of all men of good will of no matter what party. On our part we shall continue the good fight and will support any man or group, irrespective of political views, in the patriotic struggle to keep America at peace and maintain democratic processes whereby the American people may freely express themselves.

(Signed):

WILLIAM ALLEN (Detroit)—Pfc., 67th Fighter Squadron 13th Air Force; CARL BOWEN (Seattle)—Sgt., Port Battalion; JOSEPH BRANDT (Cleveland)—Pfc., 1st Special Service Force, Commando Unit; ROBERT CAMPBELL (Cleveland)—Sgt., 349th Infantry Regiment; MARTIN CHANCEY (Cleveland)—Cpl., 107th Evacuation Hospital; GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY (New York)—T/Sgt., 130th Infantry Regt., 33rd Division; THOMAS D. DENNIS, Jr. (Detroit)—Cpl., 372nd Infantry Regt.; JAMES F. FOREST (St. Louis)—T/5, 238th MP Company; SIMON W. GERSON (New York)—Cpl., 24th Infantry Division; ROBERT KLONSKY (Philadelphia—Pfc., 713th Tank Battalion, 24th Corps; SHERMAN LABOVITZ (Philadelphia)—Pfc., U.S. Army Air Corps; ROBERT MANEWITZ (St. Louis)—Sgt., 3rd Photo Recon. Group, 12th Air Force; AL RICHMOND (Los Angeles)—T/Sgt., Medical Dept., ETO; HENRY STEINBERG (Los Angeles)—T/5, Hdqt., 25th Replacement Depot, Okinawa; GEORGE WOLF (Cleveland)—T/Sgt., 359th Bomb Group, 8th Air Force; BENJAMIN WEISS (Philadelphia)—T/5, 1285th Combat Engineers; IRVING WEISSMAN (Pittsburgh)—T/5, 453rd Anti-Aircraft Artillery; SAUL WELLMAN (Detroit)—Cpl., 506th Parachute Infantry Regt., 101st Airborne Division.

N. HAMPSHIRE WITCH-HUNT

Irma Otto silent—even about weather

MRS. IRMA C. OTTO, state chairman of the Progressive Party of New Hampshire, answered to her name but to nothing else when questioned recently in a state probe of "subversives" aimed primarily at the PP. To all queries, including one about the weather, Mrs. Otto replied: "Article 15, New Hampshire Bill of Rights." Article 15 corresponds to the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Before the questioning, Mrs. Otto handed Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman a statement in which she denied that she is or ever was a member of the Communist Party, but stated:

"There is nothing in either the U.S. or New Hampshire Constitution which gives any law-making body or any official the power to legislate regarding political affiliation or matters of opinion. The law under which these hearings are being held being patently unconstitutional, I object to the jurisdiction of the office of the attorney general."

The attorney general indicated he will recall Mrs. Otto for questioning in court and will ask that she be found in contempt if she persists in refusing to answer.

SWEEZY DISSENTS: Also up for questioning this month was Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of Monthly Review and former faculty member at Harvard. In a statement he described himself as a "political dissenter" and said he "deeply disapproves" the probe. He did not invoke the 15th Article, but told newsmen he refused to answer a "relatively few" questions—designed to suggest a link between the PP and the Communist Party—on the Constitutional ground of "political freedom—which I take to include freedom of speech, press, assembly, association."

He denied that he is or ever was a Communist. The attorney general told reporters he did not "recognize" use of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, said Sweezy is continued under subpena and may be brought into court later.

Last week, Sweezy's wife, Nancy A. Sweezy, daughter of a Republican Natl. Committeewoman from New Hampshire, took a similar position when she was questioned. She told Wyman that her activities in the Progressive Party were none of his "legitimate concern." She added:

"The right of a minority to express its views and try to persuade others to accept them is the very foundation of our political freedom. If its exercise brings punishment in the form of investigations and public censure, it has ceased to be a right."

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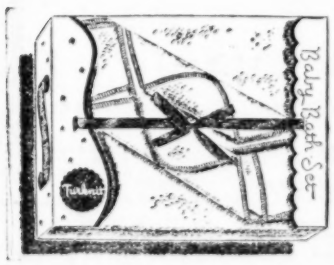

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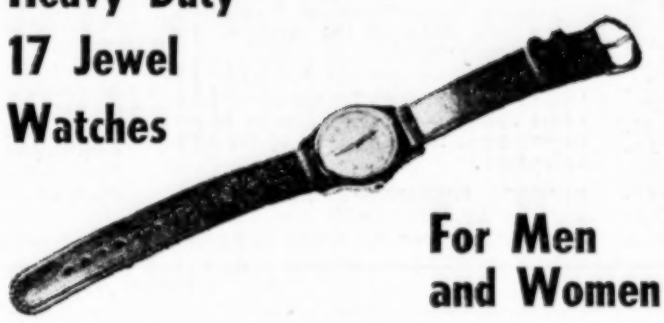

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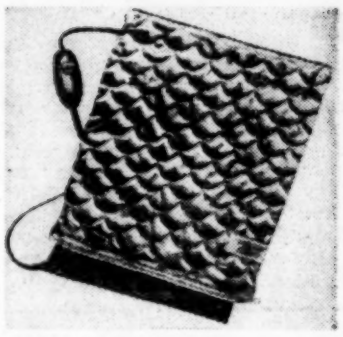

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4	.23	.35	.39	.45	.54	.64	.76	.87
5	.24	.39	.44	.52	.63	.76	.91	1.05
6	.26	.43	.49	.59	.73	.88	1.06	1.23
7	.27	.47	.54	.66	.82	1.00	1.22	1.41
8	.29	.51	.60	.73	.91	1.12	1.37	1.59
9	.30	.55	.65	.80	1.00	1.24	1.52	1.77
10	.32	.59	.70	.87	1.10	1.36	1.67	1.95
11	.33	.63	.75	.93	1.19	1.48	1.82	2.13
12	.34	.67	.80	1.00	1.28	1.60	1.98	2.31
13	.36	.71	.85	1.07	1.37	1.72	2.13	2.49
14	.37	.75	.90	1.14	1.47	1.84	2.28	2.67
15	.39	.79	.96	1.21	1.56	1.96	2.43	2.85
16	.40	.83	1.01	1.28	1.65	2.08	2.58	3.03
17	.42	.87	1.06	1.35	1.74	2.20	2.74	3.21
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